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THE CUBAN STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY.

AMBASSADOR BAYARD'S PARTISAN UTTERANCES.

VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION.

SPEECHES

OF

HON. ROBERT R. HITT,
OF ILLINOIS,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

December 13, 1895, and March 13 and April 3, 1896.

WASHINGTON.
1896.

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The Cuban Struggle for Liberty.

SPEECH OF HON. R. R. HITT.

Friday, April 3, 1896.

The House having under consideration the report of the conference committee in reference to Cuban belligerency—

Mr. HITT.

Mr. SPEAKER: I present a conference report from the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses touching the Cuban resolutions. I ask for the reading of the report, and of the resolutions recommended.

The Clerk read as follows:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House of Representatives to the concurrent resolutions of the Senate (concurrent resolution 19, part 5), having met, after full and free conference have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its amendments to the Senate concurrent resolution, and agree to the same.

ROBERT R. HITT,
ROBERT ADAMS, Jr.,
JAMES B. MCCREARY,

Managers on the part of the House of Representatives.

JOHN SHERMAN,
JOHN T. MORGAN,
H. C. LODGE,

Managers on the part of the Senate.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That, in the opinion of Congress, a condition of public war exists between the Government of Spain and the Government proclaimed and for some time maintained by force of arms by the people of Cuba; and that the United States of America should maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.

Resolved further, That the friendly offices of the United States should be offered by the President to the Spanish Government for the recognition of the independence of Cuba.

Mr. HITT. Mr. Speaker, the two resolutions which have just been read, and to which the conferees on the part of the House, in committee of conference, have agreed propose, first, that our Government should accord to the struggling people of Cuba belligerent rights; and second, tender friendly offices to the Spanish Government for the recognition of Cuban independence. These resolutions passed the Senate on the 28th of February by the overwhelming majority of 58 votes. The House of Representatives a few days later, on the 2d of March, adopted by 245 majority, as a substitute for them, declarations very similar in purport, including one additional resolution, that we ought to be prepared to pro-

tect the interests of American citizens in Cuba by intervention if necessary.

When they had gone back to the Senate that body asked of the House a conference upon the disagreeing votes. In that committee of conference, after we had discussed the three resolutions which had been adopted by the House and the two adopted by the Senate, it was agreed by the Senate conferees that the House resolutions were in some respects preferable, and they yielded and agreed to our resolutions.

They and many other Senators made an earnest effort to have them adopted by the Senate; but after weeks had passed away in debate which appeared likely to be indefinite in length, the Senate, on the motion of the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, who had urgently pressed those resolutions, nonconcurring and asked for another conference. We met them again, and they assured the House conferees that while they were as earnestly of opinion as ever that the resolutions which the House had adopted ought to pass, yet they could give no assurance that they would at any time pass the Senate, as there was manifestly an organized obstruction, which, under the antiquated rules of that body, where there is no means of stopping debate and bringing on a vote, might continue indefinitely. They asked us to now act in the same liberal spirit in which they had met us, to agree to the Senate resolutions, take them back to the House, and pass them. This would at once secure final and complete action and defeat the dilatory debate.

Remembering the great majority by which the House had adopted our resolutions and considering the vote an instruction, we who were conferees for the House for a long time insisted upon the action of the House being adhered to. The first resolution, that which favors the recognition of the belligerency of those struggling in Cuba, is substantially the same as passed by the Senate and as passed by the House. The second, which relates to the "independence" of Cuba, as stated in the Senate resolution, and to "a government by the free choice of the people of Cuba," as stated more cautiously in the House resolutions, aimed at the same thing, the tender of good offices to secure that purpose. The third House resolution, which related to the protection of American interests in Cuba, though wholly unobjectionable, though in accordance with international law, the usage of nations, and the practice of our Government, so plainly so that the only objection to it would seem to be that it was hardly necessary for Congress to make such a suggestion to the Executive—this resolution they asked us to drop.

It would be in no worse position if it were dropped than if we persisted, and all of the resolutions would fail because there was no limitation on debate there. All of them would be talked to death if they once got back to the Senate, though there were not a dozen votes that could be mustered against them. Accordingly your conferees agreed to the two Senate resolutions. We now ask their adoption by the House.

The second resolution differed from ours in that it proposed the tender of the good offices of this Government to secure the recognition of the independence of Cuba by Spain. It was said—I said it and others said it on this floor in the former debate—that the expression "independence" seemed harsher than was necessary,

and we said so to the conferees; but it was urged, and it is true, that while a proposition to any Government in ordinary time of peace to recognize the independence of a part of its territory as independent would be offensive, the reason why it is offensive is because it is on its face manifestly intended to offend.

A proposition by the British representative here that we should recognize New England or California as independent would be offensive; manifestly it would be intended as an offense. There is no reason in the present state of our affairs, no excuse for such a suggestion. But when war between a parent government and a dependency has gone on for some time and separation is the best solution of the war, it has often occurred that the mediation, the tender of good offices by another to the parent government to induce the recognition of the dependency has been an easy way to peaceful arrangement and has so been received as a truly friendly act. That has happened with us several times, and there was no objection taken in cases parallel to this, and can be none in this case unless there be a captious disposition to seek a quarrel.

When the Spanish Government, in the early part of this century, was at war with its colonies on this continent, in South America, and Mexico, our Government took the very step proposed in this second resolution—tendered its good offices and friendly counsels with Spain, urging upon Spain the recognition of the independence of the colonies. That was done, bear in mind those of you who think that we are going too fast in this, and that there is danger of our being called jingoes, by the most cautious and prudent of our Presidents, Mr. Madison. That is in the early history, and is a precedent of great authority, made by the man who more than any other may be called the father of the Constitution; and the Secretary of State who carried it out was Mr. Monroe, whose name is synonymous throughout the world with the wisest and noblest feature of the foreign policy of the Republic. That I may not misstate it in the least, I will read the words by which the President stated exactly what action he had taken touching the Spanish colonies in revolt on this continent after the war had gone on for some time.

In Mr. Monroe's message, after he was elected President, November 14, 1820, he relates the negotiations to adjust the differences, and says:

That the colonies, in their Congress of Angostura, would accept of nothing short of independence as a basis of negotiations.

And then states the action of our Government in these words, which are almost the words of this resolution:

To promote that result (independence) by friendly counsels with other powers, including Spain herself, has been the uniform policy of this Government.

There is the first, the great precedent, eighty years ago, for the very action to which your conferees have assented and which they recommend to you to-day. I will not follow through all the precedents, but I will come to one which is brought up so often in this House in another light—that of General Grant, when the Cubans were engaged in the ten years' war with Spain from 1868 to 1878. General Grant then made a proposition to Spain, that she should recognize the independence of Cuba. Those of you who care to read it at length will find the discussion in the in-

structions by Mr. Fish and the dispatches of Minister Sickles at Madrid. It is the very case we have in hand. That was an insurrection or rebellion in Cuba not half so extensive as the present, and it was near the beginning. Then the good offices of the United States were offered to bring the war to a close on the basis of Cuban independence, Spain to be paid an indemnity which the United States should guarantee.

The ruler of Spain was General Prim, and he received that proposition in the same friendly spirit in which it was made. There was no rupture of relations. I will not read all his answers, which are contained in and discussed through several dispatches of considerable length, but only to show its spirit I will give a few words. They may conveniently be found by members in Senate Report 141, if anyone desires to read it. At the conclusion of his remarks, assenting to the proposition of Mr. Sickles, he said:

I do not flatter myself that Spain will retain possession of the island. I consider that the period of colonial autonomy has virtually arrived. However the present contest may end, whether in the suppression of the insurrection or in the better way of an amicable arrangement through the assistance of the United States, it is equally clear to me that the time has come for Cuba to govern herself; and if we succeed in putting down the insurrection to-morrow I shall regard the subject in the same light, that the child has attained its majority and should be allowed to direct its own affairs. We want nothing more than to get out of Cuba, but it must be done in a dignified and honorable manner.

That was in response to General Grant's proposition that the independence of Cuba should be recognized and that an indemnity should be made to Spain, which would be guaranteed by the United States. General Prim, however, made a condition that the Cubans must first lay down their arms, and after that there might be a vote by the people of Cuba on the question of separation. But the Cuban people would not consent to lay down their arms. They knew those with whom they were dealing. They thought they knew them too well to do that, and that stopped the negotiations, together with the fact that the matter became public and created excitement in Spain. Subsequent events showed that the distrust of the Cubans was a wise one. No offense was taken by General Prim at the friendly counsel of our Government that the independence of Cuba should be recognized.

I mention this as showing why we can, with reason, come to the suggestions of the Senators whom we met in conference, and adopt that resolution which passed the Senate by so great a majority. It is only advice that we give to another Government. It is not a matter of great importance. It is all in the future anyhow. It is possible that Spain will not heed the advice; but whether she heeds it or not, we know how events are moving, that the car of destiny is bearing the cause of freedom to triumph, and the success and the independence of Cuba with or without the counsel of the stranger or the consent of Spain will soon be achieved, accorded, and established. [Loud applause.] But the matter now most important is not giving advice, it is the proposition for immediate action. That is in the first resolution proposing that our Government at once recognize the belligerency of those who in Cuba are struggling for their liberty.

Mr. HENDERSON. If it will not interrupt the gentleman, wish to make a suggestion.

Mr. HITT. Not at all.

Mr. HENDERSON. Most of us, I think, understand the meaning of the recognition of belligerency, but the country at large does not know just what is to be gained by the revolutionists from a recognition of their right of belligerency, and if it will not break into the line of the gentleman's thought, I wish he would explain that.

Mr. HITT. I will endeavor to answer the question as clearly and practically as I can. The gentleman has struck the essential question—the one that transcends all the rest. That question of recognizing Cuban belligerency is the one on which the American people have been fixing their attention most earnestly. This House has been flooded with petitions and memorials by thousands from legislatures, chambers of commerce, societies, from churches, from associations of every kind, and from individual citizens by tens of thousands. Your committee room has been choked with them. There is no other subject for years on which there has been so vast and multitudinous an expression of the people's will as this question of recognizing the belligerency of the Cubans who are struggling for freedom. They go to the very heart of the question. The people know just what is most wanted and they ask us to do it.

Some individuals, generally those who call themselves business men, brokers, and financial men, write us letters deprecating action of any kind, opposing any agitation or discussion on any foreign question that may disturb the market. They are not in favor of the Spaniard; they are not in favor of the Cuban. They care nothing whatever for either side. They simply deprecate any action which will affect the markets in which their hearts are bound up. But the unmistakable voice of the people of the United States as expressed in the enormous majority given in this House a month ago—262 to 17—and in the Senate—64 to 6—is in favor of immediately recognizing the belligerency of the Cubans.

Now, to answer the gentleman from Iowa, the effect of recognizing the belligerency of the Cubans will be, first, to give them a flag and a status. If a ship should enter New York Harbor this afternoon belonging to the Cuban insurgents, flying the Lone Star flag, she would be liable to be treated as a pirate and all on board might be treated as criminals, as violators of law, as enemies of mankind. With recognition, the belligerents will have a flag with the same status as that of any other country, and a vessel flying that flag can go into New York Harbor right alongside of a Spanish frigate. But as we stand now, if they should go in there this afternoon, the Spanish minister would be at the State Department immediately asking to have them seized and treated as pirates.

Why, his predecessor made that very request, that high-handed and bloody request, of our Secretary of State eighty years ago, when a ship of one of the Spanish colonies, bearing its independent colors, entered our port, the minister claiming that they were pirates and demanding that they be treated as such. Pronounce that magic word "belligerency," recognize those as belligerents who are truly belligerents, who are carrying on war, and you at once give them that advantage and that status among nations in our ports. The word "belligerency" exactly defines and describes what they are doing. They are carrying on war. Recognize

them as belligerents and you enable them at once to do all that other nations are entitled to do—to carry a flag, to purchase in our markets munitions of war and supplies of every kind, to purchase them openly and take them out openly, just as the Spanish Government now does—not hiding and skulking in obscure and distant ports by night to escape seizure, dogged every hour by spies and informers to give notice to our Government and have them arrested. Then men could go openly to join them, if not in armed expeditions. They could negotiate loans and sell bonds just as the Spanish Government is doing now.

Mr. SWANSON. May I ask the gentleman a question for information? Does he mean to say that if this resolution, as we are going to vote upon it to-day, is passed it will enable the Cubans to do all that?

Mr. HITT. I believe that it will, because I believe that the President of the United States is not so recreant to his duty as an agent and servant of the people that he will disregard the vote of the people of the United States as expressed through the House of Representatives and Senate by vast majorities. [Applause.] The House has already given a majority of 245 upon this question, but it has been null because, the action of the two Houses not being in accord, it has been in the air; but when these Senate resolutions have passed both Houses I have faith that we have a President who will act as the elect of the people of the United States, the agent of the people of the United States, and not their "ruler." Therefore I say that I believe that the passage of this resolution will secure the recognition of the belligerency of the Cubans.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Would not another result follow the recognition of belligerency—that the war between the two parties in Cuba would have to be a humane war, that prisoners captured from the Cuban ranks by Spanish troops would have to be treated as prisoners of war?

Mr. HITT. That is argumentative. I am speaking of the immediate effect of our resolutions—of things completely within our power—which we can determine absolutely ourselves.

Mr. NORTHWAY. I hope that the chairman of the committee [Mr. HITT] will not be further interrupted while he is stating the effect which a recognition of belligerency would have. We desire to have his statement on that point in compact form for the information of this House and the public. I hope gentlemen will defer their questions until the gentleman from Illinois is through with his statement.

Mr. HITT. After we have recognized the belligerent rights of the Cubans men can openly leave our shores to aid the Cubans. The Cubans can go upon the stock boards in this city or anywhere else and publicly offer a loan—offer to negotiate their bonds, as our fathers did, during the Revolution, in Amsterdam. They can negotiate loans either with other Governments or with private citizens.

I will give the House a definition of belligerent rights in words that will not be questioned. Mr. Canovas, the prime minister of Spain, made public last summer a statement in which he discussed this very question. No one will accuse him of straining the definition in favor of the Cubans. I will read his words. What I am about to read is no "fake." This is no unsubstantial or unauthen-

ticated paper. It comes to us from the President, and is a part of House Document No. 224. Says Minister Canovas:

From the moment of their recognition they can send out vessels upon the ocean under the flag of the lone star; raise funds in foreign countries; move about with a freedom that otherwise they could never enjoy; and they could even carry on privateering.

That does not state all that the recognition of belligerency would accomplish, but it states the great and important advantages that such an act would give to the Cubans. The Spanish Government to-day is doing all those things. It sends its agents to Hartford to buy arms; they buy them also in Philadelphia. Any man can openly go from this country to join the Spanish forces. He may, if he chooses, announce the fact in the newspapers and have a reception before he starts, yet go unmolested. The Spanish Government is, in fact, buying supplies here.

Why, sir, the United States is at this hour a base of operations of the Spanish Government in crushing the Cubans who are struggling for their freedom. Under the pretense of neutrality we are, every time the Spanish minister gives intimation to the State Department, running to capture men who may be about to start to Cuba or to seize supplies of arms intended for the Cubans, in any port, in any remote corner of the country anywhere. We have not even confined our assistance to our own ports. In the case of the *Hawkins* we pursued the Cubans out upon the high seas at the behest of Spain. Is that real neutrality? Is that fairness? Is it justice? Are we not in spirit and in fact the efficient oppressors of the Cubans ourselves?

Much has been said about this proposed action being a departure from the custom of our fathers—from the course pursued by former Presidents. Why, sir, this is nothing new. That great man to whom I referred a few moments ago dealt with this question so practically that there is little more left to be said as to the duty and the right of a nation to recognize belligerency in such a case. In 1815, after Mr. Madison had issued his proclamation touching the Spanish-American colonies—the ordinary proclamation of neutrality to forbid armed expeditions—the Spanish minister, Chevalier De Onis, demanded that our President should send orders to seize in our ports any ship that came from any of the rebel colonies. He denounced the men on any such vessel as pirates, bandits, and brigands.

Do you observe, gentlemen, that these phrases now so glib upon Spanish tongues and in the mouths of friends of the Spanish cause are not new at all? When a man is not an humble follower of oppressive authority, he is a "brigand." When he is not on their side, but fighting with such resources as God has given to him to save the liberty that God gave him, then he is a wandering bandit. That minister demanded that these ships should be seized and the men treated as pirates. He demanded that our ports be closed to the revolutionists under the flags of Buenos Ayres, Carthage, and the Mexican Congress, and other places which have, he says, "revolted against the authority of the King, my master." It is a pleasure to read the dignified and noble language in reply by a great patriot and statesman. Let me read the words; Mr. Monroe wrote them January 19, 1816, as Mr. Madison directed:

The President thought it proper some time past to give orders to the collectors not to make the flag of any vessel a criterion or condition of its admission into the ports of the United States.

And again, in reply to that haughty demand of the Spanish minister, he said:

All that your Government had a right to claim of the United States was that they should not interfere in the contest or promote by any active service the success of the revolution, admitting that they continued to overlook the injuries received from Spain and remained at peace. This right was common to the colonists. With equal justice might they claim that we would not interfere to their disadvantage—

Who thinks of that now in this great contest, where we are doing all that we can to the disadvantage of those with whom every true heart now sympathizes?—

that our ports should remain open to both parties as they were before the commencement of the struggle; that our laws regulating commerce with foreign nations should not be changed to their injury. In these principles the United States have acted.

I wish, Mr. Speaker, that I could say to-day that on these principles the United States have acted within the last year.

Now, do not say that this action of President Madison was limited simply to letting the ships come into the ports of this country. It was to do more than that. It was a direct practical recognition of belligerency with all of its consequences. Afterwards Mr. Monroe, when he had become President, recited these events and their consequences, and stated what had been the conduct of the United States toward the participants in the conflict. Mark these words; this was the way the great American acted eighty years ago to men situated as the Cubans are now situated:

They have enjoyed an equal right to purchase and export arms, munitions of war, and every other supply, the exportation of all articles whatever being permitted under laws which were passed long before the commencement of the contest. Our citizens have traded equally with both, and their commerce with each has been alike protected by the Government.

That is what we ought to do to-day. There is a sentence a little farther on which I commend to the attention of the House. I will not detain you by reading at length even the words of this great man, save to give an extract here and there:

As soon as the movement assumed such a steady and consistent form as to make the success of the provinces probable the rights to which they were entitled by the law of nations as equal parties to a civil war were extended to them. Each party was permitted to enter our ports with its public and private ships and take from them every article which was the subject of commerce with other nations.

And then he recites again with emphasis and fullness our conduct toward both parties in the contest. Now, what is the situation? Is not the success of the province of Cuba probable? Have not these men there in arms shown that they can not be subdued? The Spanish minister made public an address to the people of the United States on the 22d day of February, in which he said that Spain had sent 125,000 troops. The Spanish war publications show that there were 21,000 troops already in Cuba as a permanent army, holding the people said to be so loyal to the Spanish Government before this great army went.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, in spite of the coming of these men, 125,000 in number—with infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and besides that 40 ships of war—to crush the Cubans, they have baffled them and defied them. Yes, and General Weyler, it is said, has just asked for 40,000 more troops. More than that: Beginning in the eastern provinces at Santiago, these revolutionists have swept westward, steadily, resistlessly, fighting, avoiding, gaining all the

time, choosing their own ground of battle, commanded by leaders whose ability now has long been vindicated, ability which none will question, until province after province has fallen before them; and they have passed through 700 miles of vanquished Spanish territory and Spanish armies. To-day they hold three-fourths of the Island of Cuba.

The Spanish troops are practically penned up in the cities. They have only detachments outside of towns. The country is Cuban and the Cuban army holds it. The Cuban capital, Cubitas, is more secure than Habana is to-day. It is not a war of similar dimensions to the ten years' war of 1868 and 1878. That never extended far beyond the eastern province of Santiago, and even that it was impossible for the power of Spain to subdue. They held that monarchy at bay for ten years, although they had not an armed force one-fourth as great as that now under the commands of Generals Gomez and Maceo.

They never were subdued at all. They were induced to treat, and General Campos, who had not been successful in subduing them, made a compact with them—the peace of Zanjón. This was done upon the suggestion of the Government of the United States. By that compact the Cubans were to have self-government, reduced taxation, taxation only with representation. They were to have the expenditure of those taxes at home in large part. They were themselves to share in full proportion in administering the government.

On that pledge, on those promises, they laid down their arms. Every promise was violated. Every pledge in that compact, followed by submission, though kept to the ear, was broken to the hope; though kept in form in many cases, was utterly disregarded in fact, and they were subjected to oppression as harsh as ever. They were promised freedom of elections, representation in the Spanish parliament, self-government in the provinces and in the cities, the control of the taxation laid upon themselves. There is a paper which has been sent to every member of the House, I understand, and I had a copy of it, purporting to be signed by a number of Spaniards in New York. They do not pretend to be Cubans, but Spaniards, who say in this letter that they know about these affairs. They seem to have read up or learned in some way, or think they have, and they assert that Cuba is a free country; that those people are entirely mistaken in thinking they are not free; that Cuba is as free as Canada, and Cubans have ample representation in the Cortes or Spanish parliament.

Now, we have before us a document sent by the Secretary of State in Senate Document 166, prepared, not by Spaniards nor by our own people, but by Cubans. They know of what they speak; and while I will not go over the details, I will give the statement of one of the real Cuban members of the Spanish parliament, who himself tells just what a mockery is the pretended voting or suffrage and representation of Cubans. Only a little over 9 per cent of the people of Cuba are Spaniards—that is, Spanish residents in Cuba whose homes are in Spain; yet that electoral law is so framed that as a matter of fact there are only 53,000 of the 1,600,000 people of Cuba who are on the electoral lists, and the Spanish element, with only 9 per cent of the population, have a preponderance of the men elected to parliament and everywhere else. They administer it all. Here is a specimen: In the municipal

district of Güines the population is 13,000, of whom 500 are Spaniards. On the electoral list, out of the 13,000 native Cubans, there are 62, and out of the 500 Spanish residents there are 400 who are voters.

Now, to clinch this whole business, there is a permanent commission to revise the electoral list and settle all disputes, and that commission is appointed by the captain-general, by Weyler, a nice officer to appoint a reviewing board for an electoral list. Here are numbers of instances stated of the flagrantly arbitrary conduct by which the people were disfranchised. There are several scores of members of the Cortes sent from Cuba, but they are not Cubans. They are the bitterest enemies of the Cubans. There are sometimes Cubans elected to the Spanish Cortes, but the men who are elected under these forms as Cuban members of that parliament and representing Cuba are of that envenomed class that is the most bitterly hostile to them all, the resident Spaniards. Says Mr. Varona, himself long a member, in the most favorable epochs the number of Cuban representatives, out of the dozens that are sent, has not exceeded six.

Now, as to the local government, what kind of self-government have they? This gentleman states that of which Cubans know—not newspaper tales, nor official falsehoods and bulletins. Lately in the board of aldermen in Habana there was not a single Cuban. In the board at Güines, with a population of 12,500 inhabitants, there was not one Cuban found in the council of that province. So, too, in Matanzas, there were two, and in Santa Clara there were two. These are the most populous provinces in Cuba. That is the “self-government” to which they have been treated!

Mr. PATTERSON. Will my friend allow me to interrupt him?

Mr. HITT. Yes.

Mr. PATTERSON. I understand that the population of Cuba amounts to about 1,600,000. Now, what information have the Committee on Foreign Affairs, what official information, in respect to the proportion of that population engaged in the effort to throw off Spanish authority or in sympathy with that element?

Mr. HITT. We have a document that was sent to this House at the request of our committee, which gives scores of statements from our consular officers in Cuba, giving the number of armed men. As long ago as last August the force of Cuban insurgents in the field was given at 30,000, of whom 10,000 were pretty well armed. They have increased steadily since. If the gentleman desires information on that subject—and of course the essence of it all is, what is the scope, extent, and force of the military power of the insurrection—I will say to him that I hold in my hand a detailed statement, handed to me since the House was called to order to-day, giving the number of troops who are now organized, and a large part of whom are in active campaign for the Republic of Cuba. I will have the statement read at the desk if the gentleman desires it.

Mr. PATTERSON. Will the gentleman state the substance of it?

Mr. HITT. In the Province of Santiago de Cuba the total is 13,900. The divisions and the names of the commanding officers and the posts at which they are located are given. In the Province of Puerto Principe, which is a small province, there are 2,500. In the Province of Santa Clara there are 5,000 troops in the field.

Mr. PATTERSON. Let us have the aggregate.

Mr. HITT. I will come to that in a moment. In Matanzas there are 8,900; in Habana, 8,160; in Pinar del Rio, 5,562, and in the armies of Generals Gomez and Maceo, 16,700. The total is 60,722 men. I will insert the whole statement:

CUBAN ARMY OF OCCUPATION.

Province of Santiago de Cuba.

Maj. Gen. José Maceo (black)	3,000
Brig. Gen. Perico Perez (white)	2,000
Brig. Gen. Matias Vega (white)	1,000
Gen. Augustin Ceureco (mulatto)	1,600
Gen. Carnelio Rojas (white)	600
Gen. José Rabi (Indian)	1,200
Gen. Manuel Capoti (white)	800
Col. Felix Ruen (mulatto)	800
Col. Francisco Delgado (white)	400
Colonel Carthagena (black)	500
Colonel Heabovaria (white)	400
Col. Joaquin Planao (white)	200
Col. Remegio Mariero (white)	200
Colonel Rodrigues (Spaniard) (white)	400
Col. Salvo Reos (black)	600
Col. Pedro Popa (black)	200
Total	13,900

Province of Puerto Principe.

Maj. Gen. Mayia Rodrigues (white)	1,500
Brig. Gen. Lope Recio (white)	1,000
Total	2,500

This force serves as escort to the officials of the Cuban Republic, who, like the first Congresses of America, as after the burning of Washington in the war of 1812, are compelled to move by the exigencies of war, but they remain within a zone about equal to the area of our State of Delaware. The Marquis of Santa Lucia, president; the vice-president, Bartolo Masso; Minister of War Roloff, Minister of Treasury Pina, and all others are white.

Province of Santa Clara.

Maj. Gen. Serafin Sanchez (white)	2,000
Colonel Roban (white)	600
Colonel Rego (white)	1,200
Colonel Corteña (white)	300
Col. Felipe Toledo (white)	200
Col. Lino Perez (white)	300
Lieut. Col. Leon Cio Vedal (white)	200
Lieut. Col. Sixto Roque (white)	200
Total	5,000

Province of Matanzas.

Maj. Gen. Francisco Carillo (white)	3,000
Brigadier General Lacroet (white)	1,500
Gen. Pancho Perez (white)	1,500
Col. Clotilde Garcia (black)	400
Col. Joseph Roque (white)	800
Colonel Oulet (white)	200
Colonel Morijon (mulatto)	200
Col. Demas Martinez (black)	300
Col. (Alfred Godoy) "El Inglesito" (white)	500
Col. Edward Garcia (white)	400
Total	8,800

Habana Province.

Maj. Gen. José María Aguirre (white).....	2,000
Gen. Rafael de Cardenas (white).....	2,500
Col. Juan Masso Parra (white).....	1,500
Colonel Castillo (white).....	1,200
Colonel Aranguerena (white).....	300
Major Villanueva (black).....	200
Col. Diaz Hernandez (white).....	200
Lieutenant-Colonel Corbo (white).....	60
Lieutenant-Colonel Palacios (black).....	200
Total	8,100

Pinar del Rio Province.

Maj. Gen. Dionisio Gil (white).....	1,000
Gen. Perico Diaz (black).....	800
Col. Perico Delgado (white).....	600
Col. Rafael Socorro (white).....	200
Col. Frederico Alphonso (white) (recruits).....	60
Colonel Olivia (white).....	300
Col. Miguel Laso (white).....	800
Col. Estaban Varona (white).....	1,500
Major Castillo (black).....	300
Total	5,560

ARMIES OF INVASION.

General-in-chief, Maximo Gomez (white).....	5,000
Lieut. Gen. Antonio Maceo (mulatto).....	5,000
Brig. Gen. Quinton Bandera (black).....	2,500
Brig. Gen. José Miro (Spaniard, white).....	1,000
Brig. Gen. Bruno Zayas (white).....	1,000
Gen. Estabo Tamayo (white).....	600
Colonel Nunez (white).....	600
Col. Cayito Alvarez (white).....	400
Col. Roberto Bermudez (white).....	600
Total army invasion	16,700
Total army occupation	44,022
Total of all forces in arms	60,722

Officers.	No.	Color.			
		White.	Black.	Mulatto.	Indian.
Generals.....	24	19	3	1	1
Colonels.....	34	27	5	2
Lieutenant-colonels.....	4	3	1
Majors.....	2	1	1
Total	64	50	10	3	1

In ranks bearing arms, 40 per cent black and 60 per cent white.

This is a table of officers commanding operating columns. Each of their separate columns is regularly officered as in the United States Army, the tables showing color and strength of leader.

Mr. PATTERSON. Now, one further question. What number of Cubans—I mean citizens of the island, not resident Spaniards—what number of Cubans have enlisted in the cause of Spain in an effort to put down the insurrection?

Mr. HITT. It is said there are many Cubans—it is even stated officially. But I understand from Cubans who are in earnest in behalf of their cause that those who are thus entitled Cubans and who are in the Spanish armed forces are the same class as those men called “volunteers.” Perhaps the gentleman is aware of what

is misnamed a "volunteer" in Cuba. The Cuban "volunteer" means a Spaniard in Cuba who is subject to military duty under the Spanish law in Spain; but by a provision of the law he is allowed the choice of performing service in Cuba, and that is called "volunteering" to do duty abroad instead of at home. These are the bitterest men, the most implacably hostile and cruel, that the Cubans have to meet. They are the men who form the cloud of vultures, of officeholders, speculators, privileged spoilers, who have made the island poor. It pays \$26,000,000 a year in taxes, and besides that the exactions and peculations.

Mr. PATTERSON. From what source do you get that information?

Mr. TUCKER. The gentleman from Tennessee means the information about the number of troops.

Mr. HITT. That was handed me by a gentleman who returned from Cuba within a day or two—a very responsible gentleman, who was introduced to me by members of the House who knew and vouched for him as a man of intelligence, integrity, and high character. I have not permission to use his name, but it will be given me in a moment, if desired, by the gentleman who presented him. I am assured that the figures are from General Gomez himself.

Mr. PATTERSON. Then, if I understand it, substantially it is about this: The native population of Cuba have contributed about 60,000 men to resist the authority of Spain, that that army is maintained by the native population of Cuba, and that the natives of Cuba have directly contributed no soldiers to the Spanish cause.

Mr. HITT. Well, I would not answer that I know that fact one way or the other. That is a question in dispute. But we can infer some things which are so plain that by the laws of moral evidence and reason we can not but be convinced. I see the point of the gentleman's question. What is the tendency and wish of the people? There is every reason to believe, I think, that the people of Cuba are most earnestly devoted to the cause of independence and are determined to separate from Spain. The insurgent forces have worked in perfect harmony; the people recruit them spontaneously as fast as they fall away from exhaustion on the march or perish in battle. They have no uniforms, no rations. They have all the hardships of war and none of its splendors. Their arms were simply rough chopping knives of the plantations, called machetes, until they captured better arms from the Spaniards whom they overthrew and stripped of their Mauser rifles. If the Spanish Government believed what its officers constantly say and publish abroad in bulletins, that Cuban armies only represent brigands, incendiaries, and marauders, why do not they arm the good citizens and let them drive out the brigands? They would do it if these were brigands. Our people did it in the West; did it often in my youth. They organized to catch the brigands and executed them. But instead of that being the fact in Cuba, we have every evidence that the Cuban people regard the Spanish rule with the utmost detestation.

Mr. PATTERSON. If my friend will pardon me for a moment, I will tell him the thought I have in mind.

Mr. HITT. I will be glad to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. PATTERSON. And that is this: If the people of Cuba, the

inhabitants of the island, are practically united, or substantially united, in an effort to secure their autonomy and their liberty, in my judgment they are entitled to it. And if this Government would interpose its authority to prevent Spain from acquiring by force of arms territory contiguous on the North American continent, I do not see why Spain should be permitted to retain territory by means of subjugation. [Loud applause.]

Mr. HITT. The gentleman speaks to a point which is not now proposed for action, and as I am simply explaining a conference report the gentleman will not expect me to respond to his remarks.

Mr. POWERS. Will the gentleman yield to me for a moment?

Mr. HITT. With pleasure.

Mr. POWERS. I observe the gentleman from Illinois is thoroughly conversant with the facts touching this interesting matter; interesting not only to Cuba, but to this nation. I would like to request him to state to the House what the form of government is in Cuba that is directing the action of those insurgents. It has been stated, as the gentleman no doubt is well aware, that there is no such thing as any form of government there in an organized capacity, but that the army is made up of a band of marauders fighting for spoil. Now, if it be true that the army is made up of soldiers fighting for civil rights, is there a central power, is there a council with an administration that directs the movements of that army?

Mr. HITT. Mr. Speaker, the government of the insurgent movement, the revolution, in Cuba is a republican government, with a president; but in its beginning, like all revolutions, the very essence is the military power; that overshadows all other. They have an organization of civil officers. They have secured possession of province after province. In some cases they have almost the whole of the territory of a province in peaceful occupation administered by their officers. I have here an official copy of the constitution of the Cuban Republic. They have worked harmoniously from the beginning, each obeying his superior, showing the highest confidence—a real organization. Organization does not lie in words nor in printed papers. It is a fact. They obey their officers; their officers work in harmony. It is a consistent political and military movement, such a one that it can carry on war, and has carried it on vigorously, successfully, victoriously, from the very start.

The question as to the unity of the Cubans is a serious one. As to their sincerity in opposing Spanish domination, whether they are brigands or whether they are patriots, they have a great army against them, armed with all the appliances that the modern art of war can furnish. They are without pay. No Cuban soldier has ever received a day's pay in all this long year of battle and march and suffering. They have no uniforms. They can be described in the same language that Cornwallis applied to Washington's army when he followed its trail through New Jersey and described the soldiers of that army as "tatterdemalions." Barefooted, half-clad, armed only with the weapons they have torn from their conquered enemies, those Cuban soldiers have marched on from fight to retreat and from retreat to fight.

Their generals have not let the Spaniards set for them the places of battle. I do not know but that the Spanish generals have been able men. It is not my part to speak of them otherwise than with

respect as to their abilities. But if they are able men, then the Cuban generals are men whose names should be placed beside that of Touissant, who organized the black army in Haiti which defeated the French, or by that of Hannibal, who organized savage tribes into armies that defeated the finest infantry in the world. Their generals have created out of the humblest raw material soldiers who have borne what our troops could not bear—delay, defeat, retreat, return to action, reattack, and victory. That is the proof of ability in the generals and in every individual soldier.

They have shown all these high qualities and done all these great deeds without the sordid hope of reward, bearing themselves more patiently through this incessant struggle than our fathers did during the saddest period of our Revolutionary war, when they had to change their capital nine times in the course of the struggle, when the troops were without pay and clothing and were sometimes on the verge of disorder and mutiny. There has been no such complaint on the part of the Cuban soldier, who humbly took what he could get, ate what he could find, and went forward with unflinching heart, with bare and bloody feet, to meet the enemy and fight again. [Applause.] Such a people deserve liberty. They earn it. General Campos complained, and General Weyler has repeated the complaint, that their want of success in many instances was owing to the fact that they operated in a country where they could get no trustworthy information and where they never could rely upon their guides. Mark that significant testimony.

Remember that the guide was in the clutch of those cruel hands that love to strangle, and yet, looking death in the face, those humble, lowly men and women in the cabins and by the wayside in Cuba who were taken as guides would rather face death than lead the Spanish troops to the slaughter of their brethren in arms. Could there be a more striking testimony than this from the mouth of the Spanish commanders themselves of the devotion of the Cuban people to their cause, like that of the early martyrs to the Christian faith?

Mr. Speaker, I have endeavored to explain the reasons which led your committee to accept these resolutions, and in doing so I have been drawn into talking longer than I had intended. The suggestion has been made more than once that our action, if it led to the recognition of the Cuban Republic and its independence, would be but an introduction to a period of revolutions and anarchy, as in the other South American colonies of Spanish origin. But bear in mind one fact, which is never mentioned by those who make this prediction. There are only two spots in America where the Spanish race in considerable numbers really colonized as did the Anglo-Saxons in our country. One is Chile; the other Cuba.

In most of the Spanish-American countries the population has been, and is to-day, very largely Indian, with a minor per cent of Spanish blood ruling. But few Spanish women or families ever came. In Chile the Spaniards transplanted themselves actually. The European race went to live there, as it did in Cuba, and in Cuba to-day there are a million people of the European race and only 600,000 others. Forty years ago the securities of Chile were good in the markets of the world. It has a comparatively stable government. Let the people of Cuba, who are of a

fiber and spirit that knows how to work, a people with heads that know how to think—let them once become free and they will soon know how to rule themselves and to organize a government which will be stable and prosperous and which will earn our heartiest good wishes for its permanent success.

It is our duty to pass these resolutions. These people are imitating us. All the traditions of Americans, all our past, everything in our own history, appeal to us to cheer and encourage rather than aid to trample upon these men in Cuba who are struggling to become what we are. Why, Mr. Speaker, the very men who are now blackening the characters of the "bandits" will be, or their grandchildren will be, among those who will show themselves most anxious to prove that they are descendants from some of Gomez's captains [laughter]; just as in the cities along the Atlantic coast one hundred and twenty years ago, at the time when the barefooted soldiers of Washington were marching over the Jersey hills and plains, there were persons not overcharged with devotion to the cause of freedom, but whose descendants are most active in their efforts to discover or to invent stories of pedigrees showing descent from those soldiers, organizing "Sons" and "Daughters" of the Revolution. [Laughter and applause.]

I do not care to prolong these remarks much further. I will simply answer one suggestion which has been made. It has been frequently urged that we are under friendly obligations to Spain and that the action here proposed would be ungrateful on our part, as everybody knows that Spain is most intensely averse to our taking this step.

Sir, not long ago the Spanish Government had an opportunity to show its friendship for us when we were embarrassed by the war of the rebellion. The Spanish Government at that time organized a fleet, arranged a movement with two other Governments, made a naval demonstration in the West Indies, and seized upon the Island of Santo Domingo. They held that island for a considerable time while our country was engrossed in the war of the rebellion. Afterwards they were expelled by the people there. It was disclosed subsequently in a debate in the Spanish Cortes by the men who as ministers had conducted that business that they did it in order to "drive out the Yankees"; that that whole movement was organized to prevent our getting the naval station of Samana; that it was carried on in concert with Louis Napoleon, who was organizing a movement on Mexico to overthrow a republic there and set up an empire while we were engaged in a great duty that prevented our interfering with him.

Such is the friend that the Spaniard was to us. We are under no obligations to favor Spain and oppression as against Cuba and freedom. The truth is that in such matters as these there are no friendships. Friendship is no sentiment, any more than would be aversions and hates, on which to base a national policy or a national movement. The prime consideration in a question like this is justice—fairness to all. Enlightened self-interest as to our own people and all that concerns them should guide us in the discharge of our duty. It is our duty now to say we believe that these people, struggling as did our fathers, should be recognized as men carrying on war, as belligerents. When this utterance has gone from the representatives of the people to the White House I have faith to believe that the Executive will heed the

voice of this nation, expressed by such vast majorities in House and Senate and by every sign that indicates the wish of the American people. [Applause.]

The cause of Spain is manifestly waning from week to week. The rainy season will soon come on, and then the stars in their courses will fight for Cuban freedom. An end will come to Weyler boasts and savageries. Our action here will speedily be followed by results great and practical, and the sufferings of those unfortunate people, their tortures in prison pens and lonely marshes and mountain retreats, will come to an end. They will see the sunrise—the morning of a new and brighter day—and we shall all be glad to say that we hailed the coming of free Cuba. [Applause.]

Mr. HYDE. Allow me a single question. Are we to understand that if the President should fail to take any action upon these concurrent resolutions they would then be entirely nugatory except as an expression of opinion and of our friendly feeling toward Cuba?

Mr. HITT. I will not assume that such a thing is possible; therefore I decline to answer the gentleman's question. [Applause.]

* * * * *

Monday, April 6, 1896.

The question being on the conference report and the adoption of the resolutions relating to Cuba, there were, yeas 246, nays 27.

The announcement of the vote was received with prolonged applause.



Ambassador Bayard's Partisan Utterances.

SPEECH OF HON. R. R. HITT,

Wednesday, March 18, 1896.

Mr. HITT. Mr. Speaker, I call up the special order, the resolution in relation to certain speeches delivered by our ambassador to Great Britain.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Whereas Thomas F. Bayard, ambassador of the United States to Great Britain, said in a public speech delivered in Boston, England, on August 2, 1895, as follows:

"He (the President of the United States) stands in the midst of a strong, self-confident, and oftentimes violent people—men who seek to have their own way, and I tell you plainly that it takes a real man to govern the people of the United States;" and

Whereas Thomas F. Bayard, ambassador of the United States to Great Britain, said in a public speech delivered in Edinburgh, Scotland, on November 7, 1895, as follows:

"In my own country I have witnessed the insatiable growth of that form of state socialism styled 'protection,' which I believe has done more to foster class legislation and create inequality of fortune, to corrupt public life, to banish men of independent mind and character from the public councils, to lower the tone of national representation, blunt public conscience, create false standards in the popular mind, to familiarize it with reliance upon State aid and guardianship in private affairs, divorce ethics from politics, and place politics upon the low level of a mercenary scramble, than any other single cause. * * *

"It (the said policy of protection) has unhesitatingly allied itself with every policy which tends to commercial isolation, dangerously depletes the Treasury, and saps the popular conscience by schemes of corrupting favor and largesse to special classes whose support is thereby attracted. Thus it has done so much to throw legislation into the political market, where jobbers and chaffers take the place of statesmen." Therefore

Be it resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that Thomas F. Bayard, ambassador of the United States to Great Britain, in publicly using the language above quoted has committed an offense against diplomatic propriety and an abuse of the privileges of his exalted position, which should make him the representative of the whole country and not of any political party. Such utterances are wholly inconsistent with that prudent, delicate, and scrupulous reserve which he himself while Secretary of State enjoined upon all diplomatic agents of the United States. In one speech he affronts the great body of his countrymen who believe in the policy of protection. In the other speech he offends all his countrymen who believe that Americans are capable of self-government. Therefore, as the immediate representatives of the American people, and in their name, we condemn and censure the said utterances of Thomas F. Bayard.

Resolved further, That in the opinion of the House of Representatives public speeches by our diplomatic or consular officers abroad which display partisanship or which condemn any political party or party policy or organization of citizens in the United States are in dereliction of the duty of such officers, impair their usefulness as public servants, and diminish the confidence which they should always command at home and abroad.

Mr. HITT. Mr. Speaker, two days after the last election, which took place on Tuesday, the 5th of November, the ambassa-

dor of the United States to Great Britain delivered an address in Edinburgh, in which he inveighed in a violent diatribe against the policy, the dominant tenet in the political creed, of the Republican party in the United States. It was an amplification and repetition of a plank in the national Democratic platform denouncing protection as a fraud and robbery. The question in the election that had just passed had been, in largest part, the question between the protectionists or Republicans and their opponents, the Democrats. The distinguished audience whom he addressed had in the papers of that morning and that afternoon read the details of the election in the United States, and no doubt with great regret, all of them recognizing that with the coming ascendancy of the party of protection in this country a policy was to be expected which would have what they considered a depressing effect upon British interests.

It was under these circumstances that this passionate partisan speech was delivered by our ambassador on a foreign platform to foreigners. It drew attention in that country and in every other, and it again revived attention to a speech which our ambassador had made a short time before, in August, at old Boston in England, in which he had said that his countrymen were "a strong, self-confident, and oftentimes violent people—men who seek to have their own way, and I tell you plainly that it takes a real man to govern the people of the United States; fortunately in this case there is a real man to govern the people of the United States and hold their highest office."

These utterances excited painful attention and great regret all over this country. They were brought to the attention of Congress as soon as this body assembled, but the House, moving with caution, instructed a committee to ascertain whether such statements had been made by an ambassador of this country and what action should be taken in the premises if they had. That committee, after due deliberation, reported a resolution of inquiry which was adopted by the House, asking the President whether, in fact, such declarations had been made by the American ambassador to Great Britain; and if so, what action had been taken thereon. By and by the President sent us all the correspondence, with the information that all that was alleged to have been declared by our ambassador in Edinburgh last November was indeed said by him, and that no action had been taken thereon whatever. That is the case on which your committee have reported the resolutions now pending, expressing the disapproval of this House of the action of an ambassador of the whole people of the United States in making passionate, partisan declarations—in indulging in anathemas aimed at a great part of his countrymen.

There was an implied doubt in the inquiry of the House. We wished, we hoped, at the first news, that it would be found on examination that the declarations made by our representative abroad had not been accurately reported; that it might turn out that he had used such general terms that they could be accepted as not offensive to his countrymen; that it was perhaps mere "academic" discussion of cold, general questions of political science, which, in the condensed form of the news report, had seemed harsh and partisan. But not so; all such hopes were dissipated by the full text. When we came to read the very words, as sent by his own hand, it was found that he spoke of a party cry, a partisan word, and in his

first line strictly limited it to its harshest meaning. He sharply defines "protection" as he denounces it, not as a general term in political science, or as it might be treated in discourses in the French Academy or at a German university. He says:

In my own country I have witnessed the insatiable growth of that form of state socialism styled "protection."

That which is styled "protection" in his own country is all that he speaks of—exactly that and nothing more. The word "democrat," the word "democratic," the word "republican," the word "republicanism"—all these have a general significance as they are found in literature, in political science, and in history. In that sense every member of the Republican party is a believer in democracy as opposed to aristocracy; and every Democrat in this Hall and in this country is a republican as opposed to a monarchist. They have a general definition far different from what they mean in his own country, where what are styled "Democrat," "Democracy," and "Democratic" refer to the adherents and tenets of a powerful political organization, and what are styled "Republican" and "Republicanism" refer to a party organization and a party creed; and what is styled "protection" in this country, in the strife of parties, is a party tenet—the essence of Republicanism. So it is known and understood by every boy on the street when he sees the word "protection" inscribed on a transparency in a political procession.

There was no mistaking his meaning. To such an audience, depressed with the day's news of the success of the protectionists in the elections in the United States on the previous Tuesday, our ambassador broke out in bitter denunciation of what was styled "protection" in his own country as "corrupting public life, banishing men of independent mind and character from the public councils, lowering the tone of national representation, blunting public conscience, divorcing ethics from politics, placing politics upon the low level of a mercenary scramble, and throwing legislation into the political market, where jobbers and chaffers take the place of statesmen."

It was said on this floor, when the question was first brought up, that the President of the United States had uttered similar sentiments in the past. He uttered them at home, in the midst of political strife. The ambassador uttered them abroad, just after an election favorable to protection, and after he had made a previous speech to Englishmen saying the American people were self-confident and oftentimes violent, whom it took a real man to govern, but fortunately they had a real man holding the office of President.

If the gentleman who uttered those words had been an American citizen, traveling in his own personal private capacity, we could have taken no notice of them, whatever might have been our opinion of the good or the bad taste of an American talking in that strain in other countries. If Americans when abroad choose to reflect upon their country or their countrymen or their institutions, it is their right; as private citizens they can do it. But not so with a man who goes from our Government to the court of the British Empire clothed with authority—who stands for the majesty of the whole Republic—who represents every citizen in all this country. He is received as a public representative,

and as such his statements are accredited, justly accredited, as they would not otherwise be. When he speaks of his country he represents his countrymen—he represents all of them; and his words, whether to our honor or dishonor, are taken as the voice of the nation. Therein we all were wounded when he spoke with this bitter tongue of more than half his countrymen.

His predecessor, Mr. Lowell—a famous personality always and everywhere honored, but who when ambassador was treated with still greater respect, with the profoundest regard—when he was speaking to an English audience one day, and reference was made to American politics, said, “It is a rule with us, recognized as most fit, that family affairs should not be discussed before strangers.” [Loud applause.] That same Lowell once delivered an address in England with a title which could be perverted by a narrow-minded man into a partisan word. The subject of the address was “Democracy.” But he treated it in a higher sense, with a loftier spirit. It contained no partisan railing; and when he concluded an Englishman would have vainly asked of his neighbor, “Is he a Democrat, or is he a Republican?” No; he was an American, and only an American. He conducted himself in accordance with the duty of an ambassador in his action and his utterances.

In truth, I believe there has not in a hundred years been a public utterance by any representative of the United States on any spot of the globe, from the humblest consular agent to an ambassador, made either in eulogy or in denunciation of political parties at home.

When the ambassador went to old Boston the account before us says that he was taken on a special train, that the bells in the city were rung upon his arrival, that flags decorated the public buildings as the cortege passed, and that he was welcomed by the mayor and dignitaries of the city. That gentleman had been in Europe before, when he was not an ambassador, and when he then arrived in towns the flags were not displayed on the public buildings, nor the bells rung, nor special trains, nor mayors, nor civic dignitaries necessary.

He was presented to that great audience in Edinburgh with the profoundest respect as the American ambassador, and with such surroundings our ambassador launched into these anathemas upon his countrymen. Had he been at home, had it been before election, he might have used strong partisan language and it would have fallen unheeded, but this was addressed to foreigners, and every American of every party, of every shade of political opinion, felt the impropriety.

When, by reason of the inquiry of this House, the President, through the Secretary of State, sent to the ambassador for information as to his speech, the ambassador replied transmitting it and justifying it. He challenged article 7 of the instructions to diplomatic officers as not having been violated. Think of it—an ambassador and an ex-Secretary of State defending himself against the offended sense of propriety of the whole nation by citing the mere strict letter, the bald letter, of a rule of the Department. He says no political canvass was approaching in that country. What had a speech denouncing a party in his own country to do with party conflicts in England? It is prohibited by the regulations that any officer in our service shall take part in the political contests of the

country to which he is accredited. But no President, no Secretary of State, has ever deemed it necessary heretofore to caution even the humblest or the most ill-informed consular agent that he was not to go abroad and talk about our domestic politics. That has never been included in the regulations. He says, in justifying this strange speech:

The judgments so delivered were formed by me after careful deliberation.

Does anybody doubt that? Is that any justification? His old speeches in other places, in partisan conflicts here, undoubtedly expressed similar sentiments, and no one questioned his sincerity. But that was in his campaigns at home, when he was not an ambassador, but an ordinary Democratic politician trying to catch votes. What has that to do with the gross impropriety of taking these violent sentiments, these partisan likings or dislikings to other lands, and uttering them when acting as the representative of all the people? In this justifying dispatch he seems unconscious of the real nature of his offense.

He wounded the feelings of all Americans at home, not because he censured Republicans or Republican tenets, not because he was a Democrat—that we knew from other sources. Had a Republican, acting as ambassador, indulged in railing at the Democratic creed or its adherents as degrading and corrupting public life, is there a man in the whole country among the millions of Republicans who would not have felt hurt, humiliated, and offended at such a gross impropriety and injustice on the part of the representative of all the Democrats as well as all the Republicans in the United States?

There lies the offense; not in the sincerity of the belief, not in the truth or falsity of what he utters; that has nothing whatever to do with it. The seventh article of the instructions in their spirit prohibits any such course, and the sincerity of the belief of the man who uttered such sentiments has nothing to do with the question.

One of the essential qualifications of a diplomatic agent is to observe at all times a proper reserve in regard to the affairs of his Government.

That, Mr. Speaker, was issued by Secretary of State Bayard. [Applause.]

It is forbidden to diplomatic agents abroad to participate in any manner in the political concerns in the country of their residence; and they are directed especially to refrain from public expressions of opinion upon local, political, or other questions arising within their jurisdiction.

It is deemed advisable to extend a similar prohibition against public addresses, except upon exceptional festal occasions, in the country of official residence. Even upon such occasions the utmost caution must be observed in touching upon political matters.

If our representatives abroad are to be cautious in touching on political matters in other countries, how much more in touching upon those that reach the quick sensibilities of the millions of their countrymen at home?

Now, when this was reported in the papers some were incredulous, some censured, some criticised, and some regretted. The press of the country, with almost absolute unanimity, rebuked or censured or criticised the passionate partisan strain of the ambassador. Even the English press, which was in sympathy with the political economic views of the ambassador, felt and expressed

also their sense of the impropriety of the utterances. One of the great London journals, explaining to its readers the close relation of protection to American politics, illustrated the irritation of the American people at the utterances of their ambassador by saying:

How would we feel if the British ambassador at Washington had delivered a speech at some public assembly in America in favor of Irish home rule and denouncing the Tory party, that prevailed at the last election?

The London Times, in a comment on the speech, which is a curious mixture of patronizing and contempt, said that—

Speeches such as those made by Mr. Bayard would not be delivered by a European diplomat, and even in Mr. Bayard's case they were rather surprising.

Now, after the declaration by our ambassador that the political faith of one of the great parties of this country was degrading and corrupting, after he had taken a declaration found in the national Democratic platform, that protection is a fraud and a robbery, and translated it into his own more impulsive, specific, and passionate phrase, what action did the President take with reference to it? None whatever. Not a suggestion of admonition, although he had delivered his "judgments after careful deliberation" in such strain as this:

In my own country I have witnessed the insatiable growth of that form of state socialism styled "protection," which I believe has done more to foster class legislation and create inequality of fortune, to corrupt public life, to banish men of independent mind and character from the public councils, to lower the tone of national representation, blunt public conscience, create false standards in the popular mind, to familiarize it with reliance upon state aid and guardianship in private affairs, divorce ethics from politics, and place politics upon the low level of a mercenary scramble, than any other single cause. * * * It—

The policy of protection—

has unhesitatingly allied itself with every policy which tends to commercial isolation, dangerously depletes the Treasury, and saps the popular conscience by schemes of corrupting favor and largesse to special classes whose support is thereby attracted. Thus it has done so much to throw legislation into the political market, where jobbers and chafferers take the place of statesmen.

Does that refer to the displacement of parties in this Hall from the aisle on my right to the aisle on my left? The result of the last election has in fact so increased the Republican or protectionist members of this House that they now occupy it clear around from the end of the Hall on my right to the aisle on my left, beyond which the Democrats extend one-third of the House, instead of the great majority they formerly had. Is there anyone on the floor so bitterly imbued with partisan sentiment that he would utter in any presence such a slander as that the displacement on this floor by the last election put "jobbers" and "chafferers" in the place of "statesmen"? Could we, would any Republican here, find it in his heart to say that the result of the previous election where we were displaced and the Democrats given control of this House put jobbers and chafferers in the place of statesmen? No Representative of a district here on either side would use such language. Is that the language for a representative of the whole people of the United States? Had action been taken by the Executive, as has been so often done in cases of indiscretion and improprieties far less than this by our officers abroad, this might have passed without notice by the House. But the President replies to our

inquiry that though months have gone by no word, even of admonition, has been given to this offending officer.

Mr. Speaker, the indiscretions and the offenses of consuls and ministers abroad have often been rebuked by admonition or by censure, and sometimes by recall by the Department itself. There are innumerable examples of this. One of the early ministers we sent abroad was James Monroe, afterwards so justly famous, then young in the public service, and who indiscreetly made a glowing address in the French National Convention a few days after the fall of Robespierre in 1794. It was undoubtedly an ill-advised thing to make such a speech to that blood-stained dreadful assembly. For that he was rebuked by an admonition from the Secretary of State, and General Washington wrote a few words about it, which it is worth while to read and ponder to-day in connection with the pending question:

The truth is Mr. Monroe was cajoled, flattered, and made to believe strange things. In return he did or was disposed to do whatever was pleasing to that nation, reluctantly urging the rights of his own.

It often happens that a minister takes on the hue or opinions of the country where he resides in its contests with other countries. I have seen that occur. In the contest between Chile and Peru in 1881 it so happened that our ministers to those Republics came to Washington on leave of absence at the same time, reporting at the Department on the same day. I heard them both. Each stated that the country to which he was accredited was in the right and that the other was the aggressor, and they spoke almost as if attorneys for those Governments. That is but natural, and it is a caution constantly given to our representatives to beware of it, but we never before had one who needed cautioning to prevent his speaking against his own people.

The ambassador himself justified his course in his letter before us to the Secretary. He sends a copy of this speech issued by the "Printers in Ordinary to Her Majesty." His speech has been reprinted in this country as a partisan pamphlet by the New England Free Trade League. The committee charged to consider this question has reported resolutions censuring such utterances. Is it not time that Congress should speak?

The minority in their report say that the proposition to censure by resolution is "unwarranted and unprecedented." Whether it is warranted or not I think nearly every citizen of the United States is perfectly qualified to answer, and the press of the United States long ago answered.

It is not unprecedented—far from it. The very last Congress passed a resolution to censure Mr. Stevens, minister to Hawaii. The minority find fault with this as an invasion of the functions of the Executive with which Congress should not interfere. It is not so considered by the President. The President, by his influence and pressure upon Democratic members in this House, drove through a resolution, by the votes of reluctant members here, censuring Minister Stevens, who, it was alleged, had been too strongly zealous for his country, though the Democratic committee of the Senate afterwards found on careful examination that he had acted throughout within the line of patriotic duty. You who were members of the last House, many of you, know that that vote was reluctant, gathered up from men who disliked it to the very last moment. I heard them myself in conversation disavow their sym-

pathy with the resolution, but they said they would yield because it lay so close to the heart of the President. He was then bent on overturning the Hawaiian Republic and restoring the Queen.

We have often had ministers who went to the verge of indiscretion in the performance of their duties, where they were influenced by the public opinion where they resided, taking sides with that country in its contests with neighboring countries. But in none of these cases was fault found with the patriotism of the minister, nor did he indulge in any criticism of his own country. So, too, within a few days the Spanish minister in this city has been criticised for some public utterances, but they were not harsh judgments of his own people or any part of them. Minister Stevens was not condemned by the Democratic majority of this House for any word or act against any of his countrymen. If that was an occasion for a resolution of censure by the House, the gentlemen who voted for it must agree that this is a far more fitting occasion for the House to act.

In these resolutions the House lays down a just rule for all our diplomatic and consular officers in all countries—that they should not in public speeches display partisanship, or condemn any political party or party policy or organization in the United States; that such conduct is in dereliction of their duty, impairs their usefulness, and diminishes the confidence they should always command. Such a rule of conduct I think ought to have the vote of every member of the House and the assent of every American, so that it will never again happen that an ambassador representing the seventy millions of the great Republic will anywhere in the world forget that he represents, not a party, but the whole people, and that it is his duty not to darken the good name of any part of them. It is a wrong to the country he represents, to that great Republic with whose majesty and dignity he is clothed, and to all the people for whom he speaks in all his public utterances. [Applause.]

Friday, March 20.

The question being on the adoption of the first resolution, there were—yeas 182, nays 72.

So the first resolution was agreed to.

The question then being on the second resolution, there were—yeas 192, nays 59.

So the second resolution was agreed to.

The question being then on the adoption of the preamble, it was agreed to without a division.

Venezuelan Boundary Commission.

REMARKS

BY

HON. R. R. HITT.

Wednesday, December 18, 1895.

Mr. HITT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent of the House for the immediate consideration of the bill which I send to the Clerk's desk to be read.

The Clerk read as follows:

A bill (H. R. 2173) making appropriation for the expenses of a commission to investigate and report on the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana.

Be it enacted, etc., That the sum of \$100,000 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated for the expenses of a commission, to be appointed by the President, to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana.

[Loud applause.]

The SPEAKER. The question is upon unanimous consent to the present consideration of the bill which has been reported to the House. * * * Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none. [Loud applause.]

Mr. HITT. Mr. Speaker, I desire to say a word in explanation of the bill and its purpose, which I trust will satisfy everyone in this House—and I will say it without mentioning this side of the House or that side. I hope we have not two sides of the House when it comes to a question of this kind. [Loud applause.] The President of the United States on yesterday sent a message to this House, at the conclusion of the reading of which the House adjourned; there was hardly time for deliberate action; and it might, perhaps, have been deemed precipitate if taken at that time; but we have all examined it after having heard it read from the desk. After a general discussion in that message of doctrines, policies, and national interests, there is a request made directly by the Executive to this House for action to aid him in the exercise of his Executive functions.

It is a part of the Executive function to ascertain the facts relating to any question in negotiation with a foreign country. The gravity of the case is such that the President suggests a mode of determining a cardinal question in the controversy, and he asks us to cooperate with him by enabling him to appoint three or more men to examine the records and evidence and the facts involved. In this contention between two great Governments the first fact for us to remember as patriotic Americans is that the success of our country in its contention depends, above all, upon our presenting a united front, so that all Americans shall appear to be one and that our Government shall speak for all the people of the United

States. [Applause.] And the prompt response of the people's representatives here, according this small sum of money to pay the expenses of an investigation, which the President says shall be carefully and judiciously made, and with the least delay possible—a suggestion of promptness which I am sure was made in good faith and will be so carried out by an American President—we answering in that spirit which becomes Americans and promptly granting the appropriation, the spectacle will be presented to the foreigner, to our opponent, of a Republic that is as one man. [Applause.]

In negotiations of this character any officer charged with the duty of representing his Government is hampered and the opponent is encouraged by every word of dissent that comes from his home. Every criticism behind the officer's back puts him at a disadvantage, and hesitation by this Congress, the postponing of this simple question of an appropriation to aid the President in performing an Executive function, would be construed by the British press and the British Government as evidence that the people of the United States were not in accord, that his action in the matter had some relation to party tactics, and that he did not speak the voice of the American people.

Let us answer and do our duty, all of us, now. We shall have long days in which to discuss the Monroe doctrine and the exact words in which it should be formulated if we do not agree with the precise terms in which Mr. Olney or the President has put it. But on this particular matter now presented discussion of various views only confuses and gives aid and comfort to those across the sea. Any disclosure of dissent here—and at bottom there really is none—any appearance of dissent would not aid, but would hamper, those who are clothed by the Constitution with authority to speak for the nation and charged with this great duty. I hope, therefore, that the House will proceed to pass the bill without delay. I have made these few remarks, not from any desire to speak or debate myself, but merely as a suggestion by way of guidance to the immediate action which I believe we ought to take, and in which I hope all will concur.

And now, Mr. Speaker, unless there is some considerable body of gentlemen here who desire discussion, I will move the previous question.

Mr. DINGLEY. Mr. Speaker, I would suggest to the gentleman a slight modification in the bill. It appropriates \$100,000, and I would suggest that he add the words "or so much thereof as may be necessary."

Mr. HITT. I accept that amendment.

Mr. CRISP. I ask the gentleman to withhold the demand for the previous question for a moment.

Mr. HITT. I will yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. CRISP. Mr. Speaker, together with all on this side of the House, I rejoice that the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HITT] has been recognized to ask consideration of the bill which has just been read at the Clerk's desk. It does seem to me that there can be no division in this House as to the propriety of the immediate passage of that bill. For a great many years there has been a controversy as to the divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana. We respectfully invited Great Britain to submit the controversy between that Government and the

Republic of Venezuela to arbitration. Great Britain has declined arbitration. Now, what are we to do? If the American people have a fixed opinion upon any question, it is the opinion that no European country shall be permitted to acquire territory on the American continent by force. [Applause.] Now, the question is, What are we to do—

Mr. HITT. Mr. Speaker, I yielded to the gentleman at his request, and I was glad to do so, because he is a very distinguished and experienced member of this House, but I yielded for what I supposed was to be a suggestion about the bill, and I beg the gentleman now not to try to precipitate general debate upon this subject.

Mr. CRISP. Surely he will accord to me the privilege of occupying as much time as he occupied; especially as he has presented this morning the bill which I tried to introduce yesterday.

Mr. HITT. But I beg the gentleman not to go into a discussion of the merits of the question at this time.

Mr. CRISP. I did not intend to do that. I simply desired to suggest that, inasmuch as Great Britain has declined arbitration of this controversy, we are bound to ascertain, and to ascertain speedily, on which side lies the right, and that is the object of the President's message and of this bill. If we are not to have the assistance of Great Britain in ascertaining the facts by means of an arbitration, then we must ascertain them for ourselves, and we ought to do it at once.

The suggestion of my friend from Maine [Mr. BOUTELLE] to wait until a committee is appointed means to wait three weeks, while we should at once authorize the appointment of this commission and the payment of its expenses so that it may proceed, as I have just said, to ascertain where the right is; and everyone may rest assured that when we ascertain where the right is we have the courage and the manhood to maintain it. [Loud applause.]

Mr. GROSVENOR. Mr. Speaker—

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois moves the previous question.

Mr. GROSVENOR. Will not the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. CRISP] allow me to ask him a question? I was trying to get his attention while he was on the floor. [Cries of "Vote!" "Vote!"]

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky addressed the Chair while the Speaker was proceeding to put the question.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I ask the gentleman from Illinois to yield me two minutes only.

Mr. HITT. The gentleman will pardon me; I can not. I know the patriotic spirit which animates him; but he will have to pardon me. I can not do it.

Mr. McCREARY of Kentucky. I simply desire to say that I heartily indorse the bill offered by the gentleman from Illinois—

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois does not yield.

Mr. HITT. I can not yield.

The SPEAKER. The question is on ordering the previous question.

Mr. BOUTELLE. I hope the gentleman from Illinois will not press the previous question without permitting me to ask him what the scope of the resolution is.

The question being put on ordering the previous question, it was ordered. [General applause.]

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time.

Mr. HITT. I ask that the Clerk read the whole bill.

The SPEAKER. The bill as amended will be read.

The Clerk read the bill as amended by inserting after "\$100,000" the words "or so much thereof as may be necessary."

The question being then put on the passage of the bill, it was passed.

[The announcement of the result was received with loud applause on both sides of the House.]

On motion of Mr. HITT, a motion to reconsider the last vote was laid on the table.

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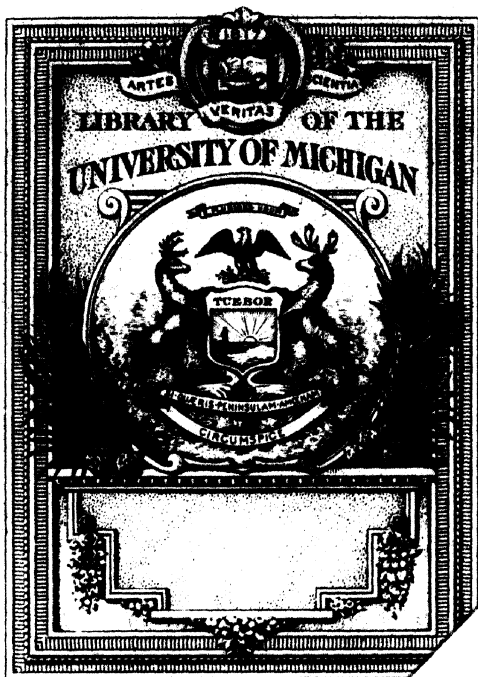
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